

## FEAST, CULT, REMEMBRANCE. REMEMBRANCE RITES IN A SZÉKELYFÖLD VILLAGE<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract:** The study briefly presents a few rites of remembrance in a Székelyföld village where the majority of the population are ethnic Hungarians of Roman Catholic religion, and analyses one of these rites. It describes the distinctive elements of cults, their spread in time and space, and attempts to throw light on the elements of a rite that help and strengthen remembrance. During the preparations and then at the feast itself we encounter a number of objects (objects used in processions, objects of the sacred space), practices (novena, stations of the cross), decorations and costume that serve to emphasise the importance of the cult and may also help to preserve it for many years to come. The mass communications means now available greatly increase the possibilities for recording and storing the memories and then making them accessible again, thereby increasing the chances that the cult will continue indefinitely and become more widely known.

**Keywords:** cult, rite of remembrance, votive feast, pilgrimage, Székelyföld

In the religious systems of Csíkszentdomokos<sup>2</sup> there are a number of cults that can also be interpreted as rites of remembrance of a local community or of the whole village community. The environment that keeps them alive ranges from a few persons to several hundred people. Their origins differ. The practice may have arisen in response to a given historical event (the assassination of András Báthori, the “revolution” of 1989), a natural catastrophe (lightning, fire), or to a supernatural phenomenon (apparitions of Mary), or out of respect for a famous person from the village (Áron Márton). Their organisation in space and time differs. Some have been practised for centuries, others for a decade or for only a few years, while there are others that are only now taking shape. They may be linked

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1 The author is an associate of the MTA-SZTE Research Group for the Study of Religious Culture.

2 In the Székelyföld there are a number of areas known as “holy land” where the population has preserved its denominational and ethnic homogeneity right up to the present. For a visual representation, see: CSALA 2015. Csík is the largest of these in both numbers and spatial extent. For a summary of the religious history of the region, see: MOHAY 2009. 28-37; FEJES 2014. 52-59. The settlement studied here is part of this region. According to the figures of the most recent census of 2011 the population is 97% Roman Catholic and 97% Hungarian. See: <http://www.recensamantromania.ro/rezultate-2/>. Lajos Balázs studied its customs for decades, devoting thorough attention to the description and interpretation of the rites related to the three major milestones in human life: birth, marriage and death (BALÁZS 2012, 2013; 2014a; 2015a), and to the spiritual background of these customs (BALÁZS 2006). In his monograph he also analysed the religious aspects of many elements of custom. He has devoted separate studies to the biography of Áron Márton, and the assassination of András Báthori. See BALÁZS 2014b; 2015b.

in space to a single nearby or more distant place, or to a wider region. Some are the result of a church, others of a lay initiative and operate under the corresponding guidance.

For centuries village residents have made penitential pilgrimages to commemorate the death in Csíkszentdomokos of Prince András Báthori (1563-1599)<sup>3</sup>. There are written records from as early as the 18<sup>th</sup> century recording the opinion that the Pope imposed penance not only on the people of Csíkszentdomokos but on the entire population of the Felcsík region as a reprisal for the murder and they chose this form of penance.<sup>4</sup> The memorial cross<sup>5</sup> erected on the site and the Báthori song<sup>6</sup> can be mentioned as important elements of the cult.

An interesting example of rites of remembrance is the atonement held on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of every month since 1992, the day commemorating the victory of the 1989 “revolution”. The devotions performed before the Eucharist set out in the parish church are in fact a celebration, if not always consciously, of the practice of free prayer.

As a consequence of natural catastrophes occurring in the village, Saint Anthony of Padua (June 13<sup>th</sup>) and Saint Elias (July 20<sup>th</sup>) are the village’s votive feast days. On one occasion a lightning strike killed most of the animals grazing on Garados hill outside the village, and on the other, part of the village was destroyed by fire following a serious drought. The first of these saints has a larger cult that will be discussed in more detail later. The feast day of Saint Elias is marked by commemoration in the sermon of the local parish priest as part of a solemn mass. Since the feast is more closely associated in the Hungarian-speaking territories with the Greek Catholic church<sup>7</sup>, the origin of this commemoration and the earlier cultivation of the cult may have been linked to the denomination that had existed earlier in the village.<sup>8</sup> The minority status and disappearance of the

3 The cardinal, who was the nephew of István Báthori, king of Poland, was the head of the principality of Transylvania for seven months. In 1599, as the cardinal fled from the battle of Sellenberk he was murdered in Csíkszentdomokos by Szeklers who felt a grievance at the violation of their ancient rights and freedoms; he was captured and beheaded in Pásztorbükk. On the historical aspects of the event and its literature, see: MAGYAR 2012. 54-65; BALÁZS 2015b. 132-134.

4 On the history of the pilgrimage, see MAGYAR 2012. 126-128.

5 There are data from the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century on the existence of the memorial cross and its restoration. We know that the earlier cross was completely replaced in 1816, 1967 and 1999. See: MAGYAR 2012. 128-131; BALÁZS 2015b. 134-135.

6 According to some assumptions the text of the song was written by the cantor of the time when the cross was erected in 1816, others think it was written by the parish priest, then circulated later in print and in manuscript. See: MAGYAR 2012. 142-147. It was published on three occasions by the printing press of the Csíksomlyó Franciscans, in 1817, 1838 and 1867. PAP 2009. 82; 96; 108. The 1867 version can also be seen online on the website of the Csíkszentdomokos library. See: <http://www.csikszentdomokosikonyvtar.eoldal.hu/fenykepek/bathory-andras-emlekere/1.html>.

It can still be found today in hand-written prayer and song books in Csíkszentdomokos.

The melody is borrowed from the hymn that begins *Ó emberi gyarló nemzetség* and can be traced back to a 17<sup>th</sup> century German funeral song. See: DOBSZAY 2007. 504.

7 See: BÁLINT 1977. II. 62.

8 As in a number of settlements in the Csík basin, the Romanian, Greek Catholic population that settled in Csíkszentdomokos in the 17<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> centuries practically ceased to exist in the 1940s as a result of the voluntary and forced conversions. See: ILYÉS 1998. 96; VARGA 2011. 51.

Greek Catholics (emigration, assimilation into the majority church) may explain why this cult is less important here.

Under the influence of the apparition of Mary to a woman in Csíkszentdomokos in the 1990s,<sup>9</sup> a community of varying composition was organised and for a short while regularly visited the site of the apparition and recalled its details.

A rite of remembrance is linked to the person of Bishop Áron Márton (1896-1980)<sup>10</sup> who was born in Csíkszentdomokos, which is almost impossible to take into account because following the official initiation of canonisation procedure in 1992 not only in Transylvania but also in the entire territory of historical Hungary countless works have been produced, institutions, events and communities created with the aim of cultivating his memory, making his person as fully known as possible and popularising it.<sup>11</sup> Such initiatives include the establishment of a museum in his native village in 2010 on the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of his death<sup>12</sup>, commemorative conferences that have been held each year since 2012 on the anniversary of his birth<sup>13</sup>, and since 2013 pilgrimages evoking his life career<sup>14</sup>. People from his native village also often make pilgrimages to the feast of the Gyulafehérvár cathedral, where they also remember the anniversary of his death on September 29<sup>th</sup>, the feast day of Saint Michael. 2016 was an outstanding year in this latter series of events as, to make it more accessible, his tomb was moved from the crypt to the south side-aisle. In that year a prayer booklet<sup>15</sup> was also published containing the Stations of the Cross expressed in Áron Márton's own words, a litany seeking his intercession, a prayer novena<sup>16</sup> and other prayers. Frequent elements

9 Neither the woman who saw the apparition nor those who participated in the practice remembered the exact year.

10 The bishop born in Csíkszentdomokos was head of the Gyulafehérvár Diocese from 1939-1980. He was revered as a saint in his own lifetime for his exemplary performance as a bishop, his steadfastness in the turbulent times, and the sacrifices he made for his fellow men. His diocese initiated his canonisation immediately after the political changes of 1989.

11 The website of the Gyulafehérvár Archdiocese gives detailed information on the bishop's biography as a "servant of God", his writings, the canonisation procedure, works of art preserving his memory, institutions bearing his name, sources, events, commemorations and conferences touching on and discussing his person. <http://ersekseg.ro/hu/martonaron>

12 The museum has its own website: <http://www.martonaronmuzeum.ro/>

13 The aim of the event is to assist and popularise research on Áron Márton. The Catholic weekly *Vasárnap* (previous website: <https://vasarnap.verbumkiado.ro/>), from January 2017: <https://romkat.ro/>) and the website cited in footnote no. 11 give detailed information on these events.

14 The three-day pilgrimage presenting the main stations in the life of the prelate was not initiated or organised from his native village, but the village is its first destination. Other stages are the place where he was imprisoned for years (Máramarossziget) the place where he was ordained as bishop (Kolozsvár), and his episcopal see (Gyulafehérvár). The most recent, fourteenth pilgrimage was held in September 2017. Information on these events can also be found on a dedicated facebook page: <https://www.facebook.com/Marton-Aron-Zarandoklatok-660524897424282/>

15 Kovács 2016.

16 Before the feast György Jakubinyi, the present archbishop of the Gyulafehérvár Archdiocese in his circular letter no. 1294/2016 invited priests and the faithful to the prayer novena for the beatification of Áron Márton, first held on 20-28 September 2016. <https://ersekseg.ro/hu/content/szekesegyhazi-bucsu-es-marton-aron-imakilenced>

in the rites of remembrance are a prayer for his beatification<sup>17</sup>, one of the Áron Márton hymns<sup>18</sup> and more recently prayers published in the prayer booklet mentioned above.

In the following I shall deal briefly with a single cult and the rites of remembrance related to it. In addition to the origin of the veneration and a description of the related rites of remembrance, I shall attempt to throw light on their characteristics.

### Cult of Saint Anthony of Padua

The origin and survival of the cult in Csíkszentdomokos is almost certainly linked to the veneration of Saint Anthony of Padua by the Franciscans in Csíksomlyó not far from the village that can be dated back to the 17<sup>th</sup> century and has continued right up to the present. It has been suggested<sup>19</sup> that the beginning of the veneration of the Franciscan saint in the Csík area and the Székelyföld region can be related to construction of the votive chapel<sup>20</sup> that still stands on the south side of Kis-Somlyó hill. According to present knowledge, the earliest Tuesday novena devotions were associated with this place.<sup>21</sup> The cult of the saint grew further when a confraternity was organised in 1772 to cultivate it.<sup>22</sup> This is not the only chapel erected in the Csík basin in honour of Saint Anthony of Padua. He is also the patron saint of the churches at Csíkcsicsó<sup>23</sup> and Újtusnád<sup>24</sup>. In Csíkmadaras the ironworkers built a chapel in his honour.<sup>25</sup>

17 It is now a widespread custom in the archdiocese to say the prayer at the end of mass. In Csíkszentdomokos it is also often heard at the end of paraliturgical prayer occasions.

18 The website of the Gyulafehérvár Archdiocese mentions two hymns. The "Áron Márton Hymn, for his beatification and canonisation" was written by Ágoston Csenkey and is sung to the melody of the Hungarian Saints hymn (SZVU 298/145); the text of the "Hymn to Bishop Áron" was written by István Ferenczes, the music was composed by Franciscan Father József Márk. See: <https://ersekseg.ro/?q=node/3327#2>. A third version is also known in Csíkszentdomokos; the text and melody by Ferenc Heinrich. Up to 2017 the first version (the hymn with a text by Ágoston Csenkey) was in use in the village, followed by the Hungarian Saints hymn with new strophes added, "Lord we kneel before you for our homeland" in which Áron Márton is also mentioned among the 20<sup>th</sup> century confessors. See: <http://www.magyarokurir.hu/hirek/uj-versszakokkal-bovult-az-isten-hazankert-terdelunk-elod-be-kezdetu-enek>. I take this opportunity to express my thanks to Attila Fórika, Csíkszentdomokos cantor for information on the hymns.

19 BOROS 1994. 134.

20 On the history of the chapel and its furnishings that survived the Mongol incursion in 1661 that also affected Csíksomlyó, see: KOVÁCS 1897. 11-23, MIHÁLY 1996.

21 See: BÁLINT 1977. I. 435.

22 A monograph has been written on the history of the Csíksomlyó Saint Anthony of Padua Confraternity in the 18<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> centuries; it includes a detailed description of the Tuesday novena devotions. See: KOVÁCS 1897.

23 According to an entry made in 1721 in the *Historia Domus* of Csíkdélne (Csicsó was a filial of Delne until it became independent in 1783) the chapel that stood on the site of the church that did not yet exist at that time was also dedicated to Saint Anthony of Padua. SZABÓ 2013. 94. Research on the history of settlements in the Middle Ages also seems to confirm this. BOTÁR 2013.107.

24 A church was dedicated to his veneration here in the 1860s. <https://ersekseg.ro/hu/templom/1105>

25 It seems likely that the earliest date for the presence of the cult here is the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The chapel does not appear in the first military survey; from the 19<sup>th</sup> century until it was rebuilt in 1990, only a stone cross marked its earlier presence. See: PÁL-ANTAL 1996.319; BOTÁR 2013. 142.

As mentioned earlier, in Csíkszentdomokos the feast day of Saint Anthony of Padua (June 13<sup>th</sup>) is the votive feast day of the village. Both the literature<sup>26</sup>, and the present memory of local people mention loss of livestock or a fire as the reason for the dedication. It may seem reasonable that following the loss of their livestock they turn for intercession to Saint Anthony of Padua as the patron saint of animals<sup>27</sup>, and after the fire to Saint Elias as the patron saint of weather. The question also arises of why the village promised the vow for the given day? In the absence of sources, we cannot tell whether it was because the catastrophe occurred on that day or because the feast of the patron saint is on that day.<sup>28</sup> It is not known precisely when the two feasts originated; the local people mention them as a tradition with a very long past. According to some opinions<sup>29</sup> the statues of Saint Anthony of Padua and Saint Elias on the main altar may date from the time the church was built (1795-1802), which allows us to conclude that both votive feast days already existed in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. The former cult had a stronger following and more written records survive attesting to this. To date the earliest known source that could confirm the existence of the feast of Saint Anthony of Padua as a votive feast dates from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In 1891 the parish priest at the time mentioned in connection with renovation of the earlier Stations of the Cross on Garados hill that it was the custom each year on the feast day of Saint Anthony of Padua to hold a procession of the Stations of the Cross.<sup>30</sup> According to oral tradition,<sup>31</sup> the construction of the Stations of the Cross on Garados hill was associated not with the votive feast but with a much earlier period when the village did not yet have a church and the villagers had to regularly visit the church outside the neighbouring village, the ruins of which can still be seen. But as it is still used today and according to recollections was used in the recent past only in connection with the feast day of Saint Anthony of Padua, it could be assumed that it was built after the vow was made. We have descriptions of the structures of the Stations from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. At first individual families undertook to

26 Székely, László (SZÉKELY 1943. 24; n.d. [1995] 202.) and a manuscript by an unknown author (N. n. d. 31.); their data are cited in (BÁRTH 1990. 394; BÁLINT-BARNA 1994. 137). The feast day of Saint Anthony of Padua is mentioned in connection with an old fire; Lajos Bálint (BÁLINT n. d. 52), the village's former parish priest and the literature citing him (Balázs 1999. 225.) mention the feast as marking the memory of loss of a large number of cattle.

27 Sándor Bálint mentions the construction of a number of Saint Anthony chapels as a result of vows made during livestock epidemics. He also described a number of Saint Anthony's day customs that served the protection and fertility of livestock. See: BÁLINT 1977. I. 436-437. The custom in Csíkszentdomokos also mentioned by László Székely (placing eggs on the altar in the hope that the hens will lay eggs abundantly) still survives today in the memory of a few, and according to accounts is it still very occasionally practised by a few individuals. See: SZÉKELY n. d. [1995] 204.

28 The latter was raised as a possibility by Gyula Perger following a conference paper in October 2016. I take this opportunity to thank him for the idea of this possibility regarding the vow.

29 This view was held by Lajos Bálint, first archbishop of the Gyulafehérvár Archdiocese in his work on the history of the village parish that he compiled at the end of his ten years of service (1968-1979) in Csíkszentdomokos. BÁLINT n. d. It also appears as an idea taken from him in his monograph on the village published in 1999.

30 *Historia Domus* 1891.

31 See: SZÉKELY 1943. 24; BÁLINT-BARNA 1994. 137; BÁLINT n. d. 5.

replace and care for the destroyed crosses, on the basis of an unwritten law that survived in oral tradition.<sup>32</sup> This tradition was no longer followed in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century; in 1972 the parish erected new stone crosses in place of the destroyed wooden crosses, financed from donations by the rosary confraternities.<sup>33</sup> The former unwritten law now hardly survives even in memory. Since 2010 a family has voluntarily undertaken the upkeep of the entire Stations of the Cross.

The commemoration of Saint Anthony's day has a traditional order. Some people prepare for the feast with the Saint Anthony novena, either individually or in collective prayers. The devotions are probably a still used variant of a practice initiated in the 18<sup>th</sup> century by the Franciscans in Csíksomlyó.<sup>34</sup>

In the early morning of the feast day the faithful gather in the church and after receiving the priest's blessing, they organise themselves into the traditional procession order and accompanied by the sound of the church bells they set out for the site of the catastrophe.<sup>35</sup> Those who are unable to walk the distance stay in the church where they perform the same devotions as the participants in the procession. Generally,<sup>36</sup> the symbol referring to the feast, the main banner with one of the portrayals of Saint Anthony common in the Hungarian-speaking region<sup>37</sup> (the infant Jesus on his arm, a lily in his hand) is carried at the front of the procession. Next follow the small bell ringers<sup>38</sup>, then the banner carriers<sup>39</sup>, the men, the priest and his attendants, and finally the women. On the way they greet each cross they pass by waving the banners three times, then when they reach Garados hill they begin the Stations of the Cross, led by the parish priest. Before the ceremony at the individual stations begins, they place a wreath of flowers on the stone cross of the station.<sup>40</sup> Almost everyone attaches great importance to picking flowers on the hill.<sup>41</sup> Most of them favour a purple plant known as Saint Anthony's flower which they said they do not generally preserve and use as a sacred experience. But there are some who keep it pressed in their prayer books for a long time, although they were unable or unwilling to explain the significance of this. The devotions of the Stations of the Cross end at the top of the hill with the litany, prayer and hymn of Saint Anthony. Since 2009 this final ceremony has been conducted around an out-

32 See: *Historia Domus* 1891; SZÉKELY n. d. [1995] 202-203.

33 BÁLINT n. d. 26.

34 See: BÁLINT 1977. I. 435; SZÉKELY n. d. [1995] 203-204.

35 My description of the celebration is based on observant participation in three different years (1996, 2017, 2018) and on interviews conducted in 1994-1998 and 2013-2018.

36 On one occasion it was not carried at the front, but immediately before the priest and his attendants.

37 See: MIKLÓSI SIKES 1995. 75.

38 In the last two years this role was taken by children, earlier it had been performed by older men.

39 On the occasion of observations in the last two years the men carried two banners representing the Heart of Mary and the Sacred Heart of Jesus; earlier (in 1996) only the women carried two red and two white banners.

40 Earlier the wreaths were made of wildflowers picked on the spot during the Stations of the Cross. At present making the wreath is the task of the nearest rosary confraternity.

41 Not only the women and children, but also the men feel it to be important. Everyone, without exception, returns home with a bunch of flowers.



door statue of Saint Anthony that within a short space of time became an important element of the sacred space. This can be seen in the touching that follows the church ceremony. Regardless of gender or age, many people feel it important to touch the statue with flowers gathered on the spot. Then everyone places their donation in front of the statue; the sum collected is used to have a mass said for all those who took part in the feast. Those who remain in the church for prayers make donations in the same way, to be used for the same purpose. The votive object erected beside the 14<sup>th</sup> station was donated by a man from Csíkszentdomokos who had recovered from an illness. The piece that he carved himself portrays Saint Anthony in the iconographic type mentioned earlier, holding the infant Jesus. The man who regarded his recovery as a miracle, together with his contemporaries<sup>42</sup> undertook to maintain it and on special occasions it is decorated with their help, under his direction.<sup>43</sup> On reaching the bottom of the hill<sup>44</sup> they again fall into traditional processional order and return to the church. On the way they give Saint Anthony flowers as gifts to the villagers who have gathered to welcome them back and for mass. When they arrive at the church a few individuals consider it important to decorate the statue of Saint Anthony at the entrance and the Sacred Heart altar beside it with flowers gathered on the procession. The feast ends with participation in the mass.

As a consequence of the political change in 1948 the spatial extent of the remembrance was restricted to the grounds of the parish church. The Stations of the Cross devotions under the direction of the church were performed in the churchyard at stations built into the stone fence around the church. According to accounts by local people, parallel with this smaller groups gathered at different points in the village to perform the customary open-air rite of remembrance. Because they could not visit the site of the past catastrophe en masse on the village's votive feast day, the groups composed mainly of neighbours and relatives went to the cross nearest to where they lived and performed the customary devotions there (Stations of the Cross, Saint Anthony litany, hymn and prayer).<sup>45</sup> At some places in the village further away from the place of pilgrimage, older people still follow this tradition because infirmity prevents them from making the pilgrimage to Garados hill.

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42 Since 1975 meetings of peer groups has been a big tradition in the village. For more detail on the celebration, see: BALÁZS 1992; 1999. 195-196. Sometimes contemporaries will mark an anniversary by placing a public monument or undertaking to restore one. In 2009 those born in 1944, the 65-year-olds in the village undertook the costs of restoring the "chapel": the base on which the statue stands and the wooden structure above it.

43 For the past nine years, on the day before the feast of Saint Anthony the "peer group women" gather in the yard of the man's house and weave decorative elements out of flowers donated by florists and contemporaries; the man transports them together with birch branches on his tractor to the site.

44 Because the hill is very steep, coming down is not easy, especially for the elderly.

45 Other church feasts (e.g. Corpus Christi, Whitsun) were observed in this way too.

The saint's cult is still alive also in individual religious practice. Evidence of this can be seen in the images of Saint Anthony of Padua placed on the walls of private homes, in privately-owned prayer books<sup>46</sup>, and popular literature<sup>47</sup>.

Kapitány and Kapitány analysed the system of symbols of our feasts using Jan Assmann's technique of remembrance.<sup>48</sup> Following their train of thought, I have attempted to place the rites of remembrance presented above in their system of criteria, according to the eight components of remembrance technique they identified.

1. *Awareness, taking to heart, engraving in the heart.* In earlier times, in the case of Csíkszentdomokos too, entering into the spirit of a feast involved a wider range of more complex preparations. But in all cases the rites of remembrance described here are still preceded by shorter or longer preparation (performing devotions – prayer, novena, making certain decorative elements, repairing the stations, etc.) in a small group (of family, relatives, neighbours) or a larger one (an entire religious community).

2. *Education, transmission.* In the case of Csíkszentdomokos it can be stated with confidence that it is mainly the older age group who make the most effort to pass on the traditional celebration. A few teachers and young couples are also committed to participation in the feast and to passing it on through education. They consider it important to teach their students and children about the different rites of remembrance. As a participant there is a much greater possibility of learning the characteristics of the rites and of developing a readiness to transmit them.

3. *Visible representation.* A number of “visual aids” referring to the feast can be found in the rites of remembrance described here. They include the banners used on the occasion, their floral decorations, and the decoration of different objects in the sacred space (station, statue, cross), and its buildings (church) with birch branches and flowers. Some of the participants wear folk costume to emphasise the significance of the feast.

4. *Limitative, border-marking symbolism.* The birch branches mentioned in the previous component are used to mark the more important sites of the sacred space and set them apart from everyday life.

5. *Storing, publishing.* The local TV station that has a cameraman present throughout religious events in the village plays an important role in recording and storing the collective memories and making them accessible again. They are broadcast later on the TV channels, enabling those who could not be present at the event to participate indirectly. This makes possible a wider and more complex collective remembrance. The use of facebook is a widespread phenomenon in the village too; photographs posted and shared there help to make past events more widely known and memorable.

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46 N. N. 1911, HARMATH 1995.

47 VARGA n. d.

48 KAPITÁNY – KAPITÁNY 2012.



6. *Feasts of collective remembrance.* The rites of remembrance presented here are in all cases feasts of collective remembrance; it is always a community that remembers a past event or outstanding person.

7. *Oral transmission.* Some collective rites in Csíkszentdomokos are linked to individual or collective creations with historical traditions, that have survived up to the present, spread orally, in manuscript or print. There are others that are only now taking shape.

8. *Canonisation of the text of the "contract".* In the case of the village studied, most – although not all – of the rites of remembrance are canonised, that is, they are rites recognised by the church and held under its direction.

### Summing up

I have tried to present rites from the collective religious practice in Csíkszentdomokos that can also be interpreted as a feast in remembrance of a particular person or event. The feasts of Saint Anthony of Padua and Saint Elias are votive feasts of the village. In this case the vow is intended to achieve avoidance of a repetition of the catastrophe. The Báthori pilgrimage can also be regarded as a votive feast but in this case the vow is not based on a belief but was made under the influence of church penance. Here the main emphasis is on penance and winning the remission of sin. Besides traditions reaching back hundreds of years, we also find others that are just now taking shape. The places of remembrance are linked to interior and exterior spaces in Csíkszentdomokos. The attraction they exert may be limited to the village, or to the villages of the Felcsík region, or it may extend to the whole of historical Hungary. General and specific cult elements can be found. Because the ceremony is of a Roman Catholic nature, the structure of the rite follows the order of Catholic church ceremonies, consequently prayer (stations of the cross, litany, prayer for the given feast) and the hymns (Saint Anthony's hymn, Báthori hymn, Áron Márton's hymn), as well as the mass are especially important liturgical elements. In the course of the rite of remembrance the participant encounters sacred and profane objects that can serve to keep remembrance alive. A new element in the sacred space, the open-air statue of Saint Anthony was placed at a point on top of the hill where it can be seen from a number of places in the village. The statue, or the bunch of flowers taken home from the pilgrimage can also serve to keep veneration of the saint alive. The rite of remembrance includes devotions that facilitate remembrance on several levels. At the same time the stations of the cross performed during the feast are also a reminder of Christ's passion. The remembrance makes it possible to evoke both veneration of the saint and to recall the past event. Some parts of the feast are organised by the participants themselves. The individual or collective tasks (preparing decorative elements, and putting them in place, caring for the stations of the cross, performing various devotions, undertaking functions in the procession,

etc.) are undertaken voluntarily. Everyone looks for a way they can help to make the feast as memorable as possible both for the individual and the community.

In conclusion it can be said that the presence of an outsider doing research in the village can also influence the villagers' wish to remember through recognition and strengthening of the value of rites of remembrance and the importance of transmitting them.

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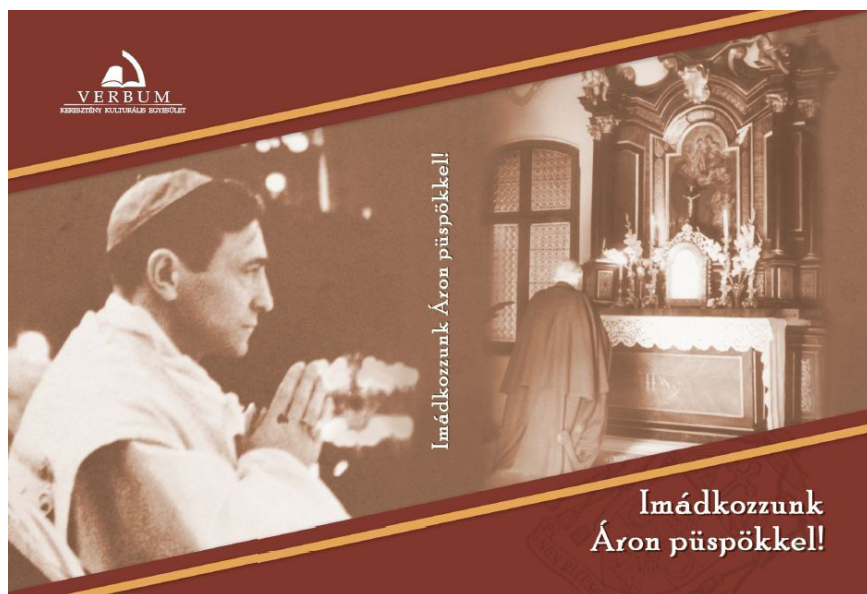


Pilgrims listening the Báthori-song. (1994)





Atonement by the Monstrance with Eucharist in the Church of Csíkszentdomokos.  
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Cover of the Áron Márton prayer-booklet. (published in 2016)



The last occasion of the novenae of Saint Anthony of Padua in a private home. (2018)



Pilgrims on the feast day of Saint Anthony of Padua, lead by ringin churchbell. (2018)





Greeting of a wayside cross. (2018)



Walking the stations of the cross on the Gardos mountain with flower-decorated stone cross in the front. (2018)



Flower-culler women. (2018)



Flower-culler men. (2018)





Pilgrims pray the litany of Saint Anthony of Padua. (2018)



Touching the statue after the litany. (2018)



Open-air statue of Saint Anthony of Padua. (2018)





High mess in the Church. (2018)



Paraliturgical devotion on the feast day of Saint Anthony of Padua. (2017)